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ABSTRACT

It is widely believed that neighborhoods that are substantially racially integrated will resegregate, becoming overwhelmingly black over a few years. This belief follows from the assumption that few white families will move into a racially mixed neighborhood. Using data from the Neighborhood Characteristics File of the 1970 Census, Mid-Atlantic geographic division, this study shows that while families not of Spanish heritage (Anglos) are continuing to move into neighborhoods with substantial proportions of black or Hispanic residents, and that any rapid racial turnover is due to high Anglo out-migration and not an absence of Anglo in-migrants. The paper compares Anglo households who moved into integrated neighborhoods in the Mid-Atlantic division with households who selected all-white neighborhoods. Variables measured for this comparison include owner/renter status, family income, presence of children in the household, percentage of families enrolling children in public versus private schools, and background characteristics of the head of household. Implications of these results with regard to future housing conditions, when the black demand for housing in neighborhoods adjacent to black ghettos may decline, are discussed. References and statistical data are appended. (Author/MK)

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Racially Integrated Neighborhoods:

Do White Families Move In? Which Ones?

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Henry Jay Becker

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Introductory Statement

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two primary objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization.

The Center works through four programs to achieve its objectives. The Studies in School Desegregation program applies the basic theories of social organization of schools to study the internal conditions of desegregated schools, the feasibility of alternative desegregation policies, and the interrelation of school desegregation with other equity issues such as housing and job desegregation. The School Organization program is currently concerned with authority-control structures, task structures, reward systems, and peer group processes in schools. It has produced a large-scale study of the effects of open schools, has developed Student Team Learning Instructional processes for teaching various subjects in elementary and secondary schools, and has produced a computerized system for school-wide attendance monitoring. The School Process and Career Development program is studying transitions from high school to post secondary institutions and the role of schooling in the development of career plans and the actualization of labor market outcomes. The Studies in Delinquency and School Environments program is examining the interaction of school environments, school experiences, and individual characteristics in relation to in-school and later-life delinquency.

This report, prepared by the Studies in School Desegregation program, examines the patterns of in- and out-migration of families in racially integrated neighborhoods.

Abstract

It is widely believed that neighborhoods that are substantially racially integrated will resegregate, becoming overwhelmingly black over a few years. This follows in part from the assumption that few white families will move into a racially mixed neighborhood. Using data from the Neighborhood Characteristics File of the 1/100 Public Use Sample of the 1970 Census, Mid-Atlantic geographic division, this paper shows that Anglo families (i.e., whites not of Spanish heritage) were continuing to move into neighborhoods with substantial proportions of black or Hispanic residents, and that any rapid racial turnover that may have occurred would have been due to high Anglo out-migration and not an absence of Anglo in-migrants. Racial stability in racially mixed neighborhoods in this Census division is found to be associated with the presence of upper-middle class families, parity of housing status (but not socioeconomic status) between Anglos and minorities, and several other factors.

The paper compares Anglo households who, between 1968 and 1970, moved into substantially integrated nieghborhoods in the Mid-Atlantic division with mover households who selected all-white neighborhoods. Although lower family incomes, rental occupancy, and several other variables were associated with arrival in integrated neighborhoods, only among owner-occupied households were families with children less likely than those without to be moving into racially integrated neighborhoods. Furthermore, public school attendance by new resident Anglo families with school-age children was nearly as great as in all-white neighborhoods, and was substantially more than a majority even among middle-income families. The paper draws out some implications of these results for a future in which black demand for housing in neighborhoods adjacent to black ghettos may be declining.

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Rationale

It is widely believed that neighborhoods that are substantially racially integrated will resegregate in a matter of years, becoming extensions of inner-city ghettos. The economist Anthony Downs wrote:

> Once blacks begin entering an all-white neighborhood near a racial ghetto, most whites become convinced the area will eventually become all black, because this has happened so often before. Hence it is difficult to persuade whites not now living there to move into vacancies arising through normal housing turnover... So almost all vacancies are occupied by blacks, and the neighborhood inexorably shifts toward a heavy black majority. Once this happens, the remaining whites also try to leave (Downs, 1972: 98-99).

Many public opinion surveys have reinforced the belief that integrated neighborhoods will become mostly black because few whites will move there. For example, in a recent Detroit Area Survey, white respondents were presented with symbolic representations of different immediate neighborhoods (each a 3 x 5 matrix of "houses" color-keyed by race). Half of the white respondents shown a neighborhood that was 20% black said they would not move there, and nearly 3/4 of the white respondents shown a 33% black neighborhood said they would not consider moving there (Farley, et al., 1978; see also Colasanto, 1977).

A large number of case studies support the notion that racial change in integrated neighborhoods is nearly inevitable (Barresi, 1972; Caplan and Wolf, 1960). For a review of these and others, see Aldrich, 1975. In a particularly well-documented case study, Molotch (1972) examined an older middle-income area on the South Side of Chicago where community organizations were particularly active in trying to keep up white demand for housing. The "South Shore Commission" had programs to search out white families to fill apartment vacancies and real estate sales; they

established a "fair-housing center" to make blacks aware of housing opportunities in other communities in the Chicago area; and they worked to maintain large white majorities at certain neighborhood schools. But in spite of these efforts to "manage integration," black demand for housing in the area grew and white demand declined. Between 1960 and 1970 the population in the area changed from nearly 100% white to one with a large black majority, and the school population became nearly 100% black.

It is no doubt true that during the years of major migration of black families from the South to the older Northeastern and Midwestern cities, a great many neighborhoods did change their racial composition. Given the persistence of the pattern of racial segregation in housing that has existed in Northern cities since the end of World War I (Sorensen, et al., 1975; Schnare, 1977; Farley, 1977), it was inevitable that an expanding black population would affect the racial distributions of the white neighborhoods or partially integrated neighborhoods bordering the black "ghettos." The tremendous demand for housing for black families that existed at the time, combined with a segregated sales and rental market that limited housing opportunities for blacks, increased the black demand for housing in these boundary neighborhoods. Thus the black demand had to be much higher than white demand, irrespective of any reluctance by whites to move into areas with large or increasing proportions of black residents. Pryor (1972) confirms in one case that racial turnover of a racially-mixed neighborhood was not related to its initial racial composition as much as it was to the proximity of the neighborhood to the central area of black population concentration in the city.

Secondly, despite statements of survey respondents like those in the Detroit Area Survey, attitude-behavior consistency research has found no association between racial attitudes among residents of integrated neighborhoods and their subsequent moving behavior (Wolf, 1960; Fishman, 1961). Out-migration clearly may be subject to far more influential forces than racial attitudes (Butler and Kaiser, 1971). Perhaps in-migration is as well.

In summary, the fact that a great many neighborhoods on the fringes of large inner-city black ghettos in the 1950s and 1960s experienced a racial integration that was unstable and merely transitory does not imply that racially integrated neighborhoods, under most circumstances, cannot attract sufficient white households to replace those who move out in the normal course of events.

To test whether the pessimism of conventional wisdom is warranted, it is important to know how many white households actually do move into substantially integrated neighborhoods, even in times of heavy black demand. It is also important to discover whether the whites who move into racially mixed areas are a peculiar and unusual sample of people. If so, prospects for expanding their number would seem to be bleak. Finally, it is important to know what factors are important in determining the level of continued white in-migration into racially mixed areas. For example, is there a tipping point beyond which many fewer whites will enter? Are areas of rental housing more conducive to racial stability? How necessary is socio-economic parity between white and black families?

Millen (1973), in a review of "factors affecting racial mixing in residential areas," called for research on these questions. But to

date, there have been very little published data on migration patterns in racially mixed areas, on the characteristics of movers, or on neighborhood characteristics conducive to racial stability and continued white in-migration.

Long and Spain (1978) recently reported on the incidence of interracial succession in individual housing units, but their study did not include information on the aggregate characteristics of the surrounding neighborhood environment. (Their report does suggest, however, why the imagery of racial turnover is so prevalent: in central cities in the Northeast, for example, 40 percent of black households moving into a formerly occupied dwelling replaced a white household; and nearly 10% of whites moving out of a central city residence in the Northeast were replaced by a household headed by a black [Long and Spain, 1978: Table 2]).

Schnare (1977), in her analysis of the characteristics of occupants of census tracts of different racial composition in four U.S. cities, provides the only known data on white migration rates into racially mixed areas. She found that in Pittsburgh, Memphis, and New Orleans (but less clearly so in Chicago), the proportion of whites in racially mixed census tracts who recently moved into their present home did not differ substantially from the proportion of recent movers among whites in nearly-all-white tracts. Only when the proportion black in the tract exceeded 90% were there few recent movers among the white households in the tract (Schnare, 1977:68). Her conclusion: "the notion that there is wholesale abandonment of integrated areas on the part of whites is thus overly simplistic" (p. 70).

Source of Data

The Schnare results suggest the need for a more thorough investigation of household mobility into racially mixed areas. Data are needed that describe the numbers and characteristics of in-migrants to a small area, by race; the characteristics of longer-term residents; and the characteristics of the neighborhood as a whole. The present analysis uses data from the 1970 U.S. Census One-in-a-Hundred Public Use Sample with Neighborhood Characteristics.

This data set is in the form of a hierarchical file of information on neighborhoods, households, and individuals. For the purpose of developing these tapes, the Census Bureau defined "neighborhoods" by aggregating information for contiguous areas containing about 4,500 people. Although census tract boundaries apparently were not used to define neighborhoods (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1972)--the procedure used was heavily automated and involved clustering successively-numbered census tracts and "blocks"--their size suggests units that are comparable in extent to census tracts, if somewhat less socially homogeneous.[1]

This paper focuses on the Public Use file for one census division--the Mid-Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania). Many cities in this division include large black and Puerto Rican populations and have neighborhoods with heterogeneous racial and ethnic mixes. The analysis concerns all 5,630 neighborhoods located in urbanized areas within this Census division.[2]

For each neighborhood included in the study, the data set includes summary aggregated information about all households in the neighborhood, and actual census questionnaire information for 1% of the households in

the area and their component individuals. About 15.5 households are included for each neighborhood. We define in-migrant households, or "new residents," as those households where the head of the houshold moved to his or her current residence in the 2 1/4 years prior to the census date, April 1, 1970. In the urbanized areas of the Mid-Atlantic states, about 25% of the households were new residents--approximately 3.85 households per neighborhood.

White In-migration to Racially Mixed Neighborhoods

We will examine three aspects of white residential choice:

1. What fraction of new residents in racially mixed neighborhoods are white?
2. What differentiates white households who move into these neighborhoods from those who move elsewhere?
3. Which neighborhood characteristics, other than racial composition, determine what proportion of the new residents will be white?

Early exploration with the data suggested that the major "racial" difference in housing choice was the contrast between location decisions of whites not of Spanish heritage and the location decisions of the large black and Hispanic minorities. The former group, the non-Hispanic whites, are here termed "Anglos," and the remaining population, "minorities." Thus, in this paper the racial composition of a neighborhood is defined by its "percent Anglo"--that is, the proportion of the population (heads of households) who are neither black nor Hispanic.

Tables 1 and 2 indicate the proportion of Anglos among new residents in neighborhoods of different racial composition. The two tables classify neighborhoods according to their racial composition, but this variable is measured by two different methods--consequently, estimates

of new-resident racial composition vary according to the grouping procedures used. The first procedure (Table 1) categorizes neighborhoods by their known racial composition as of the Census date, April, 1970. Table 1 indicates that, on the average, the proportion of Anglos among recent residents in racially integrated neighborhoods tended to be about 4½ to 7½ percentage points less than the proportion who made up entire neighborhood populations as of 1970. For example, in the Mid-Atlantic area, in neighborhoods between 60% and 79% Anglo in 1970, an average of 63.3% of new residents since 1968 (still residing in the neighborhood in April, 1970) were also from Anglo-headed households.

Since the Anglo proportion of recent residents averaged somewhat below the overall proportion Anglo in racially mixed neighborhoods, it is clear that some racial change was occurring in most racially mixed neighborhoods. Consequently, the Anglo proportions of neighborhood populations before the new residents arrived--that is, in January, 1968--must have tended to be even somewhat more divergent from the new residents' racial makeup than was the 1970 area population.

Because the 1970 census contains no information about the households who lived in a neighborhood in 1968 but who moved away, we cannot know exactly what the January, 1968 racial composition was in each neighborhood. However, we can make estimates using available data. In Table 2, the 1968 neighborhood racial composition is estimated by directly applying the racial composition of household heads who remained in the neighborhood between 1968 and 1970--the "holdover" households. For individual neighborhoods, this estimate is likely to be quite unreliable since it is based on an average of only about 12 holdover households sampled in each

neighborhood. However, when neighborhoods are aggregated together, as in Table 2, the estimate is likely to be close to the actual combined 1968 population racial distributions--at least closer than is the 1970 population distribution.

This method of estimating, both for individual neighborhoods and in the aggregate, is subject to errors due to the difference between the racial composition of households who moved out between 1968 and 1970 and the racial composition of holdover households. However, two most probable sources of bias, if equal in strength, would cancel one another's effect. On the one hand, because most racially mixed neighborhoods have experienced net increases in their minority populations, one might expect Anglos to comprise a larger portion of the out-migrants than of the holdovers. On the other hand, research on geographic mobility has fairly consistently found that the propensity to move is positively associated with the recency of the last move (Goldstein, 1958; Land, 1969; Morrison, 1971). Thus, if minority households are more recent in-migrants (and renter households and younger families, as they also tend to be [Long, 1978]) they also might constitute a disproportionate fraction of the out-migrants as well. In addition, research on causes of out-migration has generally found non-racial factors to be much more significant determinants of decisions to move than are racial ones even if racial factors are related to the destination of the move (Butler and Kaiser, 1971; Frey, 1979; Molotch, 1972; Wolf, 1960).

Thus, for aggregated estimates over the short-run, the sampled holdover households may be a reasonable source for estimating 1968 neighborhood racial composition. (The next section introduces a variant of this procedure that may be more valid, particularly for long-run measures

of neighborhood change.) For individual neighborhood estimates, the 1970 population racial composition must be used--even if somewhat biased downward for racially mixed areas--because estimates from the 1968-1970 holdover populations are based on too few cases to be individually reliable.

In any event, somewhat greater average neighborhood change is suggested by grouping neighborhoods in terms of their estimated 1968 populations. For example, in neighborhoods defined by this measure as 60% to 79% Anglo, 59.5% rather than 63.3% of new residents were Anglo. In neighborhoods whose sampled holdover households were between 40% and 59% Anglo, only 32.1% of the new residents were Anglo (compared to 43% using the other measure).

Still, this means that in neighborhoods where half of the residents were black or Hispanic, about one-third of all new residents were Anglo. Although this does not suggest long-term racial stability, neither does it indicate a complete rejection of the neighborhood by Anglos.

Long-term Neighborhood Racial Change

In spite of ongoing racial change, a large proportion of new residents will continue to be from Anglo households. If a neighborhood that continually obtains new Anglo households can keep the ones it gets, relatively long-term racial stability is possible. That is, even though the proportion of minority households among new residents continues to be somewhat above the overall proportion in the neighborhood at the time, there is enough "noise" in the system that substantial racial change can take decades to occur rather than years.

However, the speed of racial transition is not only dependent on the rate of Anglo in-migration, but on Anglo out-migration as well. If the out-migration rate for an area is particularly high--this is the condition generally referred to as "white flight"--it seems unlikely that Anglo in-migration would be able to keep up with the supply of vacant dwellings. The rightmost column in Table 2 indicates the proportion of all households in each type of neighborhood who were new occupants since 1968 (i.e., in most cases, replacements for out-migrants). The most racially heterogeneous neighborhoods (those 40%-59% Anglo) averaged 31% new residents among their 1970 populations compared to rates of 23% for all-Anglo neighborhoods and 26% for all-minority neighborhoods.

On the other hand, because we do not know the racial composition of out-migrants for each neighborhood, we can only guess how much of this "higher" out-migration rate in racially mixed neighborhoods is solely Anglo out-migration. Here, let us consider two contrasting assumptions: (1) that out-migrants in racially mixed neighborhoods are racially representative. (This is the assumption used in Table 2 to estimate short-run racial change.) (2) That Anglo households constitute all the excess out-migration beyond what might be predicted by a straight-line interpolation from all-Anglo (23% rate) to all-minority (26% rate) neighborhoods.

We can estimate long-term average rates of neighborhood change by using either one of these assumptions about the differences between out-migrants and holdover households and by applying regression equations calculated from the data that relate both the residential mobility rate over 2½ years and the racial composition of new residents during this

period to the estimated racial distribution at the start of the period.[3] By iteratively applying these equations and one of the alternative assumptions about out-migration racial selectivity, we can calculate the degree of racial change for successive 2½ year periods. In Figure 1, the results of this procedure are plotted for three hypothetical neighborhoods having year 0 (1968) racial compositions of 90%, 75% and 50% Anglo, respectively.

The results show that the speed of racial transition is greatly influenced by the assumption taken regarding the difference in racial composition between out-migrant and holdover households. In a 90% Anglo neighborhood, for example, if out-migrants are racially representative of a neighborhood's population, it would take about 18 years for the population to reach a 75% Anglo, 25% minority racial balance. During this time, more than three-quarters of all new residents would be Anglo.

However, if Anglo households made up all the "excess" out-migrants from a neighborhood, the same degree of racial change would occur within eight years. By eighteen years from the starting point, the neighborhood would be only 42% Anglo. Even so, however, during those 18 years, three-fifths of all <u>new</u> residents would be Anglo. The turnover would occur not from an inability to attract new Anglo households, but from their particularly higher out-migration rate.

Unfortunately, because we cannot apply real numbers to the out-migration data for these neighborhoods, we cannot estimate where, among the broad range of trends suggested by Figure 1, urban neighborhoods in the Northeast were headed in the late 1960's. Nevertheless, the data in Tables 1 and 2 and Figure 1 deny the hypothesis that far too few white households will move into racially mixed neighborhoods for racial stability to occur.

Instead, these data generally confirm the findings of Schnare (1977). Most racially mixed neighborhoods--particularly those with Anglo majorities--do not lose their supply of Anglo residence-seekers when blacks and Hispanics begin to be included among the new residents. Anglo households continue to dominate among the new residents, and the process of racial turnover may often occur at a fairly slow pace. Indeed, a not insignificant proportion of such neighborhoods show at least a short-term trend of Anglo families being disproportionately included among the new arrivals.

Characteristics of Anglo In-Migrants

If Anglo households are continuing to move into many neighborhoods that are substantially racially mixed, are they a representative group of households or do they differ from the majority in particular ways? The data suggest that the major differences are financial--Anglo mover households with below-average incomes are more apt to find housing in integrated neighborhoods, as are Anglo families who rent, compared with those with higher incomes or those who are buying their home. Table 3 presents data for Anglo-headed households in urbanized areas of N.Y., N.J., and Pennsylvania who moved into their current residences between January, 1968 and March, 1970.

At all income levels, new-resident Anglo renters were about two to two-and-one-half times more likely to have found housing in what we call "substantially integrated neighborhoods"--those that are at least 1/5 black or Hispanic--than were Anglo owners with the same income. Overall, about 15% of recently-moved Anglo renters in these urbanized areas found housing in substantially integrated neighborhoods while only 5% of owners did.

A family's life cycle stage is widely understood to play a large role in governing its housing location decision. It is believed, for example, that few white families with children will move into a neighborhood with a substantial black population. Thus, it is quite surprising that, although life-cycle differences are related to the destination neighborhood's racial composition, the relationships are not larger than they are. This is particularly so when current income and owner or renter (tenure) status are taken into consideration.

Among Anglo mover households, household heads over age 60 were more likely to have moved into a substantially integrated neighborhood (19% vs. 11%). With income controlled the difference declines by about one-half, to about 4 to 5 percentage points.

Overall, families with children were less likely to have moved into a substantially integrated neighborhood than families without children (10% vs. 14%). However, the pattern is different when families who rented and those who were buying their home are examined separately (see Table 4). Among renters, there was little difference between childless households and families with children in their propensity to find housing in racially mixed areas. Among home-buyers, however, families with children were not as likely to have selected a home in an integrated neighborhood. This is particularly true among home-buying Anglo families with greater than $20,000 in income (1978 $) the previous year. Only 3% of such families with children bought in substantially racially mixed areas while 7%--more than twice as many--without children bought there. Still, the absolute percentage difference (4%) is not very large.

Families with only one parent and children were slightly more likely to purchase or rent in racially mixed areas than were families composed of a married couple and children with similar income and tenure status (see Table 4). Among households without children, married couples were also less likely to have moved to an integrated neighborhood than were other childless households.

One of the greatest concerns about the viability of racially mixed residential areas is that Anglo parents of school-age children will be reluctant to use public schools that have a heavily black or Hispanic enrollment. We have shown that under certain conditions (primarily owner occupancy) families with children were less likely to move to integrated neighborhoods. It is important to examine to what extent Anglo parents moving into those areas were enrolling their children in public schools.

The facts are somewhat surprising. In all three income categories, most Anglo families moving into substantially integrated neighborhoods enrolled their children in public schools rather than private or parochial schools. Table 5 shows these results. Only among families with more than $24,000 in income (1979 $) is there a consistent relationship between public school utilization and racial composition of the neighborhood; and even among these families, whom we might easily call middle-class, 65% who moved into substantially integrated neighborhoods put their children into public schools. This is somewhat lower than the 80% public school utilization rate of middle-class families moving into all-Anglo neighborhoods, but it still indicates the strong draw of public schools even for Anglo parents living in racially mixed areas. Thus, it does not seem to be the case that integrated neighborhoods in the 1968 to 1970 period were

attracting only those middle-class Anglo families whose children would enroll in non-public schools.

Multiple Regression Analysis of Mover Household Characteristics and Neighborhood Racial Composition

We have been examining the influence of financial, life cycle, and household structure variables on neighborhood residential choice by relating variables two, three or four at a time. But a large number of family characteristics might conceivably affect household residential location, and it is important to determine, in general, to what extent Anglo families who moved to racially mixed neighborhoods actually differed from other mobile Anglo families. To measure the overall extent of these differences and to identify specific differences that may have at least minimally distinguished families in their residential choices, multiple regression procedures were used.

Because our primary interest concerns the housing location decisions of families with school-age and pre-school children, we limited our universe to Anglo mover households with children between the ages of 2 and 17 as of the Census date. The universe was further restricted to households with an employed head-of-household since occupational variables were included in the regression and a listwise deletion rule was used.

The dependent variable in the analysis is the proportion of black-plus-Hispanic households in the neighborhood as of 1970. (Estimated 1968 neighborhood population characteristics were not calculated for individual households.) Stepwise procedures were used, but variables known from explorations of the data set to be significantly related to the dependent variable were forced in first.

Table 6 presents the zero-order correlations and standardized partial regression coefficients. Overall, 13 predictor variables added significant ($p < .10$) proportions of additional variance. However, in combination these variables accounted for only 7% of the variance in the proportion of minority households in the receiving neighborhoods. More than a dozen other family social and economic characteristics failed to enter the stepwise equations (see footnote, Table 6). Thus, the primary general conclusion is that social-demographic and socio-economic factors are relatively insignificant in determining which families move to racially mixed neighborhoods. Nevertheless, differences between the kinds of variables that were related to neighborhood racial composition and those that were not are of some interest.

The strongest predictor of racial composition of receiving neighborhood in the regression equation is whether the household was renting or buying. Even with factors such as family income, occupational prestige of head of household, and family life-cycle stage controlled, Anglo households buying their home were more likely to find housing in racially homogeneous neighborhoods ($\beta = .12$).

Socio-economic factors were also significant in the regression equation. Occupational prestige of head, education, and family income were all related at low levels, but in the expected directions. Interestingly, the type of work done by the head-of-household also was slightly related to neighborhood racial composition, controlling on these SES factors. Using the typology of occupational activities developed by Holland (1973), people in "investigative" and "artistic" pursuits

were more apt to find housing in racially mixed areas. People in "entrepreneurial" work tended toward housing located in a racially homogeneous neighborhood but the regression coefficient did not reach statistical significance.

Few of the household composition variables entered the stepwise regression. Recall though that the universe was already limited to families with children aged 2 to 17. The strongest relationship with a household composition characteristic was the presence in the household of persons other than parents and their children. These extended family households were more likely to find housing in racially mixed areas, even with other variables controlled ($\beta = .08$). On the other hand, the number of children in the household, the number in any age interval and their genders, the age of the oldest child, the spread in age between oldest and youngest, the age of the household head, and whether the family was headed by a married couple, by a single male, or by a single female were not related to the racial composition of the neighborhood to which these families recently moved (with one slightly significant exception). Even the zero-order relationships for most of these variables were not very strong.

Several other social aspects of the migrant household were related to neighborhood minority concentration. Households headed by veterans of military service were more likely to have moved to racially mixed areas, other factors controlled. However, fighting in the Vietnam war in particular was not a significant factor over other military service. Secondly, households which in 1965 had lived in a different state than in 1970 (geographically mobile households) were also more likely to find

housing in racially mixed neighborhoods. On the other hand, there was a slight but significant partial regression coefficient between the head-of-household's not having been born in a Southern state and racially mixed neighborhood location. Finally, Anglo household heads of foreign stock were more likely to settle in racially mixed neighborhoods. (However, the next section shows that neighborhoods with large numbers of residents of foreign stock were also more racially unstable!)

Neighborhood Differences in Continued Anglo In-migration

To this point, we have found two central results. First, racially mixed neighborhoods in the late 1960's continued to attract new Anglo residents, although in numbers generally insufficient to maintain racial stability. Secondly, the Anglo households who arrived--although characteristically of lower SES, renter households (or, if owners, more often without children), and dissimilar in some other ways from Anglo households who moved elsewhere--were nevertheless not a completely unusual and restricted population. The third major question we address here is whether (and why) some neighborhoods continued to attract new resident Anglo families more than did others with comparable racial proportions.

First, neighborhoods do appear to have differed in their ability to remain racially stable over the 1968-1970 period. Although our samples of new resident households in each neighborhood are too small to permit precise conclusions, it appears that in about 1/5 of the racially mixed neighborhoods Anglos were included among the new residents in at least the same portion as they were in the neighborhood population as a whole. At the other extreme, in about 10% to 20% of the substantially integrated

but Anglo-majority neighborhoods, Anglo households were a distinct minority of new arrivals.

The next task, then, is to identify characteristics of racially mixed neighborhoods and their populations that might distinguish between the more stable and less stable situations. To do this, I examined the 589 urbanized neighborhoods in the urbanized portion of the Mid-Atlantic division that had 1970 populations between 40% and 79% Anglo--substantially integrated neighborhoods where Anglos still might constitute a significant fraction of new residents.

These neighborhoods were, on the average, 62% Anglo in 1970, with Anglos constituting 55% of the recent arrivals. Considering for a moment only those households who remained between 1968 and 1970 (the "holdovers"), a number of differences between Anglo and minority households were typical. A much larger fraction of holdover minority households had children under 18 (57% vs. 31%). In fact, 80% of holdover Anglo household heads were over age 39. Holdover Anglos were typically in larger homes, more often owned their home, and had slightly higher incomes than holdover minorities. On the other hand, holdover minorities lived in slightly newer dwellings, and, mainly because of being younger, the holdover minority household heads had more years of schooling than the holdover Anglo heads-of-household.

To see what neighborhood characteristics were associated with greater racial stability in these integrated neighborhoods, a series of partial correlations were calculated between neighborhood characteristics and the proportion of <u>new</u> residents who were Anglo, controlling on the proportion of <u>all</u> residents in 1970 who were Anglo.[4] Neighborhood variables examined included characteristics of the overall 1970 population, characteristics

of the holdover Anglo households alone, characteristics of the holdover minority households, and similarities and differences between the holdover Anglo and holdover minority households.

Because the dependent variable, percent Anglo among new residents, is based on such small samples in each neighborhood (an average N = 4), most variation not accounted for by the 1970 neighborhood racial composition is probably due to sampling error. Thus, partial correlations were not expected to be very large. Nevertheless a substantial number of population and housing characteristics were significantly (if modestly) associated with racial stability in these racially mixed neighborhoods.

Socioeconomic variables are examined first. In general, our data show that presence of an upper-middle class population seems to have been important for continued Anglo in-migration to these urban and suburban northeastern neighborhoods, although presence of a substantial low SES population did not seem to be a deterrant, nor was parity between the socioeconomic status of Anglos and minorities a factor.

Table 7 indicates the partial relationships for the socioeconomic variables examined. In these 589 substantially racially mixed neighborhoods, racial stability was associated with the presence of more professional and managerial workers, more college graduates, more families with incomes over $30,000 (1979 $), and more households living in high-rental or high-value homes. (It may have been, of course, that the greater the stability, the more that the dwellings retained their value). In addition, the greater the income inequality in the neighborhood as measured by the Fini index of concentration and the higher the proportion of employed women, the more stable the neighborhood.

On the other hand, racial stability in terms of new residents was not significantly related to median family income, to the proportion of families below the poverty level or below $10,000 (1979 $), or to the proportions in low-rental or low-value housing. Nor were neighborhoods whose holdover minority residents had lesser income or education than continuing Anglos any different in their ability to attract new Anglo residents than neighborhoods where minority residents were higher on these measures of socio-economic status. The extent to which holdover minorities lived in owner-occupied dwellings also did not affect the racial composition of new residents.

Besides the presence of an upper-middle class, racially stable integrated neighborhoods also tended to have younger Anglo families. However, the proportion of holdover minority households with children nad no relation to stability. Table 8 presents partial correlations for the family structure and other family characteristics in our data.

The strongest predictor of racial stability in Table 8--indeed the largest relationship identified in all these similar tables--was an ethnic factor: the estimated proportion of the Protestant or "Yankee" population among holdover Anglo households. The larger the proportion of Anglos who were from (or whose parents were from) Catholic or Jewish European countries, the fewer new residents who were Anglo. Thus, although we showed earlier that Anglo families of recent immigrant background were more likely to move into racially mixed nieghborhoods than were native Anglos of native-born parents (Table 6), the racially mixed neighborhoods where Anglos of foreign stock resided were less racially stable.

Neighborhoods composed of more geographically mobile households (moving from a different county since 1965) were more racially stable.

Even a higher turnover rate in general (proportion moving in since 1965) was slightly associated with racial stability. This is somewhat in conflict with the "conservative" assumption in Figure 1 (i.e., that in racially mixed neighborhoods out-migration is partly racially motivated and leads to less racial stability).

Table 8 also indicates that neighborhoods with households occupied by unrelated individuals are more racially stable than neighborhoods more homogeneously family-occupied. This result is consistent with one of the associations in the final table, Table 9. Table 9 gives the partial associations between racial stability and a number of housing variables. In particular, neighborhoods with a higher proportion of one- and two-room apartments--often occupied by individuals rather than families--were more racially stable. On the other hand, the presence in the neighborhood of rental units in general and the fraction of single- (as opposed to multiple-) unit structures were only slightly associated with racial stability. Greater racial stability occurred in racially mixed neighborhoods that had higher vacancy rates. These also tend to be neighborhoods with many one- and two-room apartments, but other high-vacancy stable situations may have occurred where black or Hispanic demand had not grown to replace diminishing Anglo demand for single-family homes.

Anglo households also tended to move into racially mixed neighborhoods with newer (post-1960) housing units and to avoid those with pre-World War II-constructed units. However, it did not matter whether holdover minorities occupied housing of similar age as did Anglos or whether they were in significantly older units--new Anglo in-migration did not depend on differences in the age of housing between Anglos and minorities.

However, Anglo migration to racially mixed neighborhoods was enhanced when there was racial parity or minority-superiority in the proportion of continuing residents who lived in large homes and possibly in single- and in owner-occupied dwellings as well. Thus, it was apparently important for Anglo in-migration that black and Hispanic households already present were equal or superior to resident Anglos in the status of their housing (age of home excepted). It is interesting to note that whereas these housing differences (or parities) were related to Anglo in-migration, corresponding socioeconomic racial differentials were completely unrelated to racial stability. More intensive multivariate analysis of the variables may clarify some of these results, but that work--as well as an extension of the empirical analysis to other U.S. Census divisions--is yet to be done.

Discussion and Conclusions

The racial stability of an integrated neighborhood can be assured only when it remains capable of attracting new white (Anglo) families on a continuing basis. Such families are needed to replace those who leave out of fear of present or future consequences of racial changes and to replace those who move as result of the many other factors that affect such out-migration decisions. It has even been proposed that the term "integrated neighborhood" be reserved only for racially mixed neighborhoods that are attracting new white residents (Bradburn, et al., 1970).

Because so many urban neighborhoods have experienced complete racial turnover since World War II, it has seemed almost inevitable that racial turnover would occur whenever a substantial fraction of homes became occupied by minority households--blacks in particular. It has been further

believed by many (e.g., Molotch, 1972) that it has not been so much that out-migration rates of white households increase with an increasing proportion of minority residents ("white flight"), but that white families cease to move into vacant dwellings that arise in the normal course of mobility events.

This paper has examined the extent of white (Anglo) in-migration into racially mixed neighborhoods in urbanized areas of the Northeast between 1968 and 1970. The data indicate that although not enough Anglo households were locating in racially mixed neighborhoods to reach equilibrium with the continuing households, there was nevertheless a good deal of "static" in the process of racial turnover. The number of Anglos becoming new residents in these areas was only about 7% less than the overall Anglo proportion in 1970 and only slightly more divergent from the proportion of Anglos in the "holdover" population--those who maintained their presence between 1968 and 1970.

As shown in Figure 1, rapid racial turnover occurring during this period seems more likely to have been due to higher-than-normal levels of Anglo out-migration than to an absence of Anglo in-migrants. In summary, the supply of white movers did not dry up. However, in most cases the supply was insufficient to maintain perfect racial stability, and racial change would have proceeded slowly even if no "white flight" had occurred. However the rate of neighborhood change would have been measured in decades rather than years if only in-migration disparities, and not unrepresentative out-migration had been occurring.

The data from the 1970 Census also showed that Anglo families who moved into racially mixed neighborhoods were unlike in-migrants to

homogeneously white neighborhoods in a number of ways, but differences were more quantitative than qualitative. Although renter households, owner-households without children, veterans, long distance movers, and families of lower socioeconomic status were more apt to find housing in substantially integrated neighborhoods, the proportion of variation in neighborhood racial composition explained by these and other social variables was only 7%. And although upper-income families, with children, and who were buying their home were among the least frequent movers into racially mixed areas, nearly two-thirds of these families made use of the public schools to educate their children. Thus, in comparing "relationships" between family housing choices and neighborhood racial composition, we are speaking of differences of degree and not of kind.

Finally, our neighborhood-characteristics "public use" sample from the 1970 Census has enabled us to examine those characteristics of neighborhoods that seemed to have produced greater racial stability over a 2½ year period than in other neighborhoods of comparable racial composition. Although we could not conduct this analysis with actual over-time data, we were able to see which neighborhoods obtained new Anglo residents in proportion to their overall 1970 population and which neighborhoods of similar racial composition were not successfully drawing new Anglo households. To summarize these results, racially stable integrated neighborhoods appear to have been those who had a reservoir of upper-middle class households, particularly young Anglo families with children, and neighborhoods whose longer-term minority residents occupied dwellings at least as prominent as those of the Anglo households. It also was important that the continuing Anglo households were from "native stock" and the population as a whole had been more geographically mobile.

In general, the data suggest that substantial numbers of Anglo households were moving into racially mixed neighborhoods during the late 1960's, a period when racial transition was probably viewed as occuring at least as rapidly as at any previous time. Nearly ten years have passed since these data were collected. We are now entering a period in which black net migration into metropolitan areas has slowed and may even be negative in some locations. With increased costs of suburban travel, white migration to ever more distant suburbs may be slowing or reversing. And diminished birth rates of the 1960's will translate into fewer household formations and smaller pressures on the housing supply. Furthermore, more minorities may be leap-frogging over the borderline ghetto neighborhoods to find homes in predominantly white communities. If these trends emerge, racial stability in substantially integrated neighborhoods may become more and more possible. This paper has suggested that a net outflow of white families from these neighborhoods is not inevitable and that there may be a sufficient reservoir of white mover households to fill the vacancies that arise in integrated neighborhoods for racial stability to occur.

Notes

1. Neighborhoods whose 1970 populations were more than 80% white were sampled from the universe. The sampling fraction for neighborhoods more than 90% white was .10; for neighborhoods 81-90% white, .50. However, statistical tabulations reflect weighted data so that results are representative of the entire urbanized areas covered.

2. Neighborhoods can be seen as meaningful social units, but with highly imprecise boundaries and definitions. Census tracts, at best, are approximations to neighborhoods, and the "neighborhoods" used in the public use sample are regroupings of contiguous census tracts using an automated procedure. When a white family in our data moved into a "neighborhood" that was 20% black, in some cases they may have moved to an all-white block in an all-white socially relevant neighborhood that happened to be included in a Census-Bureau-defined aggregate also called a "neighborhood." Thus, it is probable that some of what we have tapped here is the normal amount of in- and out-movement by white families living adjacent to blocks or "neighborhoods" that are racially mixed, but who, in fact, are not living in such a situation themselves.

   In addition, the procedures used to select blocks to be joined together into common neighborhoods was one in which occasionally blocks and even portions of different census tracts that were <u>not contiguous</u> were placed in the same "neighborhood." A Census Bureau staff member estimated that as many as 10% of the neighborhoods have major discontinuities in the aggregation of block units that comprised them. Nevertheless, the degree of error in these geographic variables is probably far lower than the sorts of measurement errors we put up with in analyzing social

and attitudinal variables. However, this limitation of the study must be considered by anyone examining the analysis contained herein.

3. The equations used iteratively to simulate racial change over time are:

$$M = -18.90 * A^2 + 16.04 * A + 25.78$$

$$N = -72.24 * H^3 + 162.48 * H^2 - 2.77 * H + 7.29$$

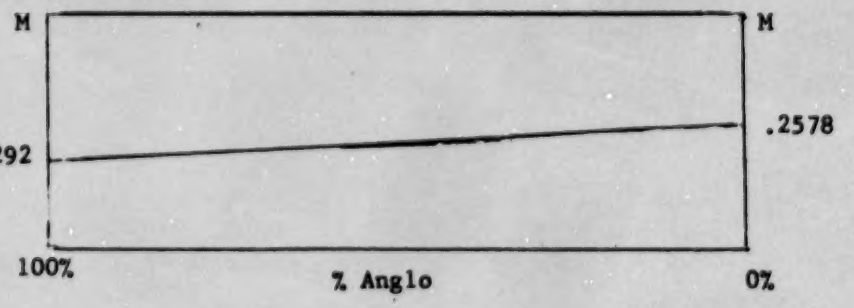
where H = Percent Anglo among holdover households (Time 0 to Time 1)

A = Percent Anglo estimated at Time 0

M = Proportion of new residents in Time 1 population (equation derived by using 1968 H values since A values unknown)

N = Percent Anglo among new residents at Time 1.

Percent Anglo at time 0 was estimated two ways. The liberal assumption (solid line in Figure 1) is that A = H; that is, the racial composition of outmigrants was the same as the racial composition of "stayers" or "holdover households." The conservative assumption is that any migration above the line in the figure below was Anglo out-migration.



The following equations enable us to calculate values for H and N under this conservative assumption:

(1) AS + AM = A

(2) AS + MS = 100 - M

(3) $AM + MM = M$

(4) $$\frac{AS}{(100 - M)} = \frac{AM - [M - [(22.92 * A + 25.78 * (100 - A))/100]]}{M}$$

Where AS = Anglo "stayers" (holdover households) as percent of total time 0 population

AM = Anglo "movers" (outmigrants) as a percent of total time 0 population

MS = Minority "stayers"

MM = Minority "movers"

4. If we had <u>population</u> data on the 1968 neighborhood population, even on the holdover population, that would have been a preferable control variable. However, because even the holdover household proportions were based on small sample sizes (mean N = 12), controlling on this variable would have insufficiently controlled on the neighborhood's racial composition, with the result that variables strongly related to racial proportions would have continued to show strong positive partial correlations.

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Figure 1: Forecasts of Neighborhood Racial Change by Iterative Use of Cross-sectional Relationships

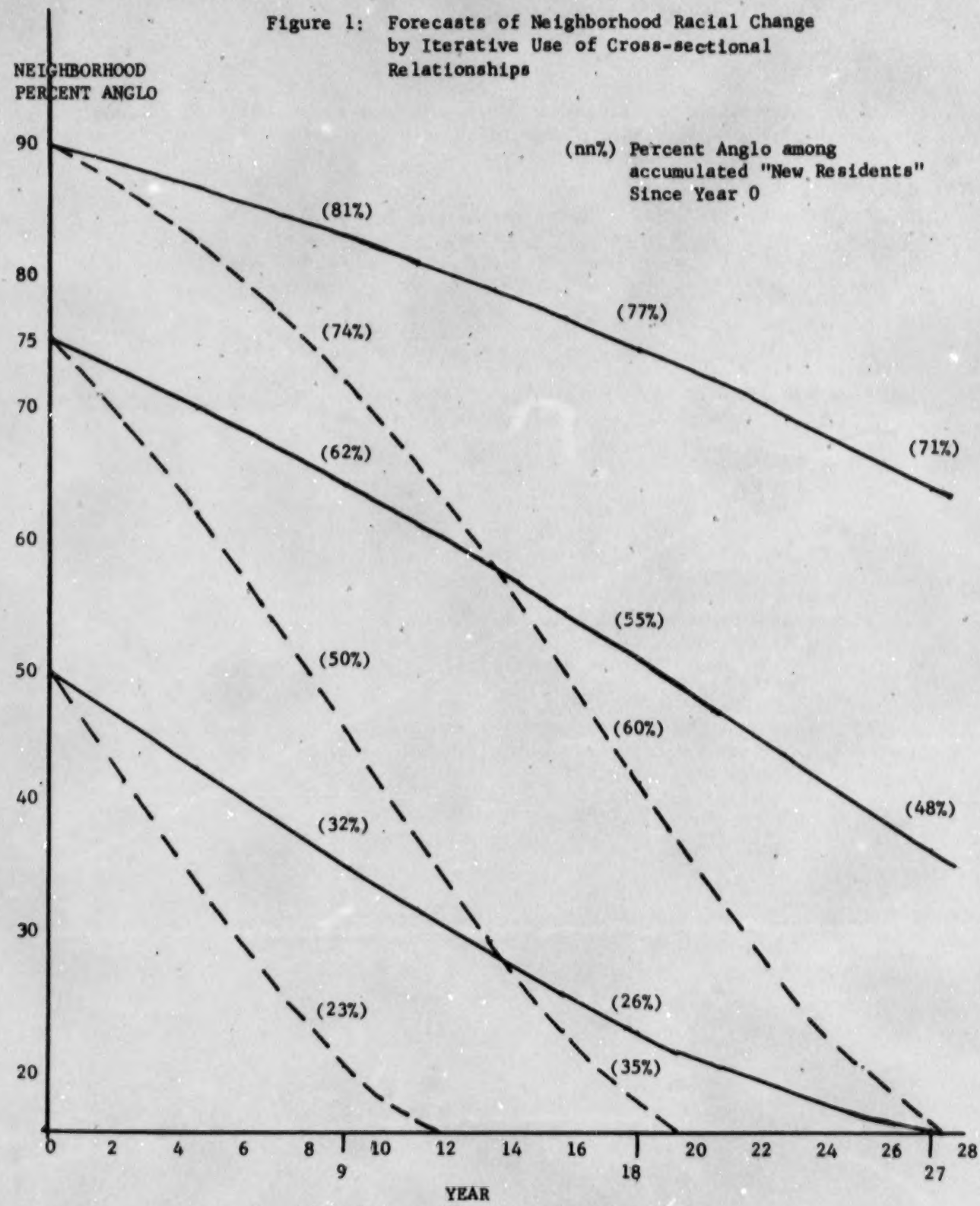

Table 1: Racial Composition of New Residents (1968-1970) by Neighborhood Racial Composition, 1970 (N.Y., N.J., Pa., urbanized areas)

Neighborhood Percent Anglo* (April, 1970) (range: [mean])	New Residents 1968-1970 Percent Anglo** (mean)	Neighborhoods with New Residents*** (N)
90% or more: (98.1%)	95.2%	3734
80%-89%: (84.7%)	80.1%	310
60%-79%: (70.9%)	63.5%	352
40%-59%: (49.9%)	43.4%	240
20%-39%: (29.1%)	24.0%	258
0%-19%: (7.5%)	7.2%	471

* Proportion of heads of households who were neither black nor of Spanish heritage (as defined for that state).

** Proportion of heads of households who were both white and not of Spanish heritage.

*** Neighborhoods with one or more new resident households on 1/100 sample file (avg. 15.5 total households per neighborhood on sample file).

Table 2: Racial Composition of New Residents (1968-1970) by Estimated* 1968 Neighborhood Racial Composition (N.Y., N.J., Pa., urbanized areas)

Estimated* Neighborhood Percent Anglo,** 1968 ("holdover households") (range: [mean])	New Residents 1968-1970 Percent Anglo** (mean)	Neighborhoods with New Residents*** (N)	% New Resident Households among all 1970 Households (mean)
90% or more: (98.8%)	93.7%	3782	22.8%
80%-89%: (85.4%)	77.6%	444	29.2%
60%-79%: (70.0%)	59.5%	317	27.0%
40%-59%: (48.6%)	32.1%	218	30.7%
20%-39%: (28.3%)	21.9%	206	27.9%
0%-19%: (5.7%)	7.7%	393	26.2%

*Estimated on the basis of the 1970 resident households included in the 1/100 sample who moved into their home prior to 1968. These "holdover households" averaged 12 per neighborhood.

**Defined as in Col. 2, Table 1.

***Defined as in Col. 3, Table 1.

Table 3: Neighborhood Destinations of Anglo Movers by Income and Owner/Renter Occupancy, (N.Y., N.J., Pa. urbanized areas, 1970)

Anglo Mover Households		Racial Composition of Receiving Neighborhood				
Owner/ Renter Status	Family Income (1969) (1979 dollars)*	Substantially Integrated (Less than 80% Anglo)	Moderately Integrated (80-89%)	Predominantly Anglo Neighborhoods (90-100%)	Total all Movers	(N)
		(Proportion of Anglo mover households)				
Rent	Less than $8,000	24%	10%	66%	100%	(2555)
Rent	$8,000-$5,999	15%	9%	75%	100%	(3380)
Rent	$15,000-$23,999	12%	7%	81%	100%	(2877)
Rent	$24,000-up	10%	6%	84%	100%	(2828)
Own	Less than $8,000	10%	10%	81%	100%	(211)
Own	$8,000-$15,999	8%	6%	86%	100%	(773)
Own	$16,000-$23,999	6%	5%	90%	100%	(1443)
Own	$24,000-up	4%	3%	93%	100%	(2546)

*1979 dollars are estimated to be equal to $0.50 in 1969 dollars. The CPI for July, 1969 was 110.2; for June, 1979, 216.9.

Table 4: Racial Composition of Destination Neighborhoods for Anglo Mover Households by Household Composition, Income, and Tenure (N.Y., N.J., Pa.; (urbanized areas, 1970)

		Proportion Moving to Dwellings in Substantially Integrated Neighborhoods			
		Households with Children under 18		Households without Children	
Owner/ Renter Status	Family Income (1969) (1979 dollars)*	Husband and Wife	One Adult Head	Husband and Wife	One Adult Head
Rent	Under $20,000	17% (1865)	22% (697)	16% (1390)	18% (3646)
Rent	Over $20,000	10% (1379)	12% (106)	9% (1820)	13% (737)
Own	Under $20,000	6% (917)	8% (87)	10% (292)	12% (233)
Own	Over $20,000	3% (2584)	3% (93)	7% (662)	9% (105)

* See note, Table 3.

Table 5: School Enrollments of New Resident Anglo Households with School-age Children, by Family Income and Neighborhood Racial Composition

	Percent Enrolling their Children only in Public School		
New Resident Anglo Households with Children in School	Neighborhood Racial Composition (Percent Anglo)		
1969 Family Income (1979 dollars)	Substantially Integrated (Less than 80% Anglo	Moderately Integrated (80-89%)	Predominantly Anglo (90% or more)
Less than $16,000	81% (250)	71% (120)	77% (1050)
$16,000-$23,999	71% (96)	88% (75)	77% (1126)
$24,000 +	65% (116)	72% (61)	80% (1866)

Table 6: Regression Equation Predicting Neighborhood Racial Composition for Recently Moved Anglo Households with Children

Universe: Anglo households with children aged 2-17 (1970) who moved into their current home in an urbanized area of N.Y, N.J. or Pa., during 1968-1970 and where the head of household was employed (N = 5649).

Anglo households who moved to neighborhoods with higher minority (black + Hispanic) proportions were...*	Dependent Variable: Neighborhood % Minority, 1970 zero-order correlation	standardized partial β
Renting rather than buying	.18	.12
Not high school graduates (head of household)	.14	.08
Extended family households (other relatives or non-relatives present)	.09	.08
In smaller urbanized areas	.08	.08
Lower occupational prestige (head)	.11	.06
Had military service (head)	.13	.06
Lived in 1965 in a different state (head)	.07	.06
Lower family income	.13	.05
Employed in an "investigative" (Holland I) occupation (head)	(-).01	.05
Of foreign stock (head)	.06	.05
Not born in the South (head)	(-).02	.03
Employed in an "Artistic" (Holland A) occupation (head)	.01	.02
Not have boys aged 15-17	.02	.02
Multiple regression co-efficient		R^2 = .07

*Variables not entering regression equation (F to enter = 2.71, $p \leq .10$). (Zero-order r's--with percent minority--in parenthesis.) Number of children (-.02), age of youngest child (.01), # boys 5-11 (-.01), # girls 5-11 (-.02), # boys 12-14 (-.02), # girls 12-14 (.01), # girls 15-17 (.01), spread between youngest and oldest child (-.03), age of household head (-.01), non-husband-wife household (r = .06), head in "entrepreneural" work (r = -.09), in "social" work (-.02), in "realistic" work (.08), in manufacturing industry (vs. wholesale/retail/service) (.02), in Vietnam war (.02), in Korean war (.04).

Table 7: Racial Composition of New Residents and Socio-economic Characteristics of Neighborhood Populations, 1970, Controlling on 1970 Neighborhood Racial Composition

Universe: Neighborhoods in urbanized N.Y., N.J., Pa. with 1970 percent Anglo between 40% and 79% (N = 589)

Socio-economic Characteristics of the Neighborhood	Dependent Variable: Percent Anglo, New Residents*	
	Partial r (If r> |.02|)	signif.**
% Professional, technical and managerial persons in the employed pop.	+.13	p <.001
% College graduates among persons 25-54	+.14	p <.001
% Families with incomes >$30,000 (1979 $)	+.06	p <.10
Of rental units, % with rents >$300/mo. (1979 $)	+.12	p <.001
Of owner units, % with values >$50,000 (1979 $)	+.11	p <.01
Of women, % employed	+.12	p <.01
Income inequality (Gini index) between households	+.09	p <.025
Median income	+.03	--
% Families below poverty income	--	--
Of rental units, % with rents <$120/mo. (1979 $)	--	--
Of owner units, % with values <$20,000 (1979 $)	-.05	--
Of Families with incomes <$10,000 (1979 $)	--	--
Difference between holdover Anglos and holdover minorities		
in % with family incomes >$20,000 (1979 $) (% Minority - % Anglo)	--	--
in % with high school degrees (% Minority - % Anglo)	--	--
Of holdover minority households, % owner-occupied	--	--

* Controlling on 1970 neighborhood "percent Anglo" (100 - % black - % Hispanic)

** Number of neighborhoods: Neighborhood population characteristics (589); Differences between holdover Anglos and holdover minorities (512).

Table 8: Racial Composition of New Residents and Family Structure and other Characteristics of Neighborhood Populations, 1970; 1970 Neighborhood Racial Composition Controlled

Universe: Neighborhoods in urbanized N.Y., N.J. and Pa. with 1970 percent Anglo between 40% and 79% (N = 589)

Other Household Characteristics of the Neighborhood	Dependent Variable: Percent Anglo, New Residents*	
	Partial r (If r> |.02|)	signif. **
Of holdover Anglo households, % with children	+.06	p <.10
Of holdover Anglo households, % headed by person under 40	+.08	p<.05
% of all persons under 65	+.04	--
Of holdover minority households, % with children	--	--
% of all persons under 18	-.04	--
Of holdover Anglo households, % headed by person of foreign stock from Catholic or Jewish-dominant nation	-.17	p <.001
Of all residents, % living in a different county in 1965	+.13	p <.001
Of all households, % occupied by unrelated individuals rather than families	+.14	p <.001
Of all residents, % moving into unit since 1965 (more turnover)	+.06	p <.10
Of all families, % with female head	-.03	--

* Controlling on 1970 neighborhood "percent Anglo" (100 - % black - % Hispanic)

** Number of neighborhoods: see Table 7; also. Holdover Anglo households (587), holdover minority households (514).

Table 9: Racial Composition of New Residents and Housing Characteristics of Neighborhoods, 1970; 1970 Neighborhood Racial Composition Controlled

Universe: Neighborhoods in urbanized N.Y., N.J., Pa. with 1970 percent Anglo between 40% and 79% (N = 589)

Housing Characteristics of the Neighborhood	Dependent Variable: Percent Anglo, New Residents* Partial r (If $r > \|.02\|$)	signif.**
Of all households		
% one- and two-room units	+.17	$p < .001$
% rental occupancies	+.05	--
% single-family structures	-.05	--
% vacant, for sale and/or for rent	+.12	$p < .001$
% units built since 1960	+.06	$p < .10$
% units built before 1940	-.07	$p < .10$
Difference between holdover Anglos and holdover minorities...		
% in homes with more than 6 rooms (% Minority - % Anglo)	+.09	$p < .025$
% in single-family structures (% Minority - % Anglo)	+.05	--
% in homes built after 1950	--	--
% in owner-occupied homes (% Minority - % Anglo)	+.03	--

* Controlling on 1970 neighborhood "percent Anglo" (100 - % black - % Hispanic)

** See Tables 7 and 8.